

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-11 ISO-00 CU-04 OMB-01 IO-14 NIC-01 ACDA-19

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 EB-11

DRC-01 /163 W

----- 073888

R 241134Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9912

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

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AMCONSUL STUTTGART

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: GW, PINT

SUBJECT: THE GERMAN YOUTH SCENE--SOME ENCOURAGING
SIGNS?

REF: BONN A-76, FEBRUARY 2, 1973

SUMMARY: THE TRUTH LIES SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THOSE WHO
WARN THAT FRG YOUTH "IS GOING TO HELL IN A HAND BASKET"
AND THOSE WHO BELIEVE "THE REVOLT IS OVER." THE PRESENT
SITUATION IS SERIOUS BUT NOT DESPERATE--AND PERHAPS
SLIGHTLY IMPROVING. BUT DESPITE THE RELATIVE CALM ON
THE SURFACE, THERE COULD BE PROBLEMS FOR THE FUTURE.
END SUMMARY.

1. RADICAL LEFTISTS CONTINUE TO CONTROL THE FREE AND
TECHNICAL UNIVERSITIES IN BERLIN, AND THE UNIVERSITIES
OF MARBURG AND BREMEN. SIGNIFICANT POCKETS OF LEFT
RADICALISM ARE STILL FOUND AT HEIDELBERG, FRANKFURT,
MUNICH AND REGENSBURG. MARXIFICATION OF THE CURRICULA
IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
AND TEACHER TRAINING, MAINLY AT THE ABOVE UNIVERSITIES.
BUT THE REST OF THE FRG'S 67 UNIVERSITIES/ADVANCED
TECHNICAL SCHOOLS ARE STILL IN FAIRLY GOOD SHAPE, AND
THEY ACCOUNT FOR 70 PERCENT OF THE FRG'S TOTAL OF
ROUGHLY 700,000 STUDENTS (REFERENCE AIRGRAM).

2. THERE ARE STILL OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE AND HARRASS-
MENT OF PROFESSORS. BUT THE VIOLENT INCIDENTS AT
BOCHUM, BREMEN AND OTHER UNIVERSITIES LAST FALL DE-
SIGNED TO BREAK UP MODERATE STUDENT GATHERINGS ARE CON-
SIDERED BY THE MODERATES THEMSELVES AS AN ENCOURAGING
SIGN--THEY BELIEVE VIOLENCE HURTS THE RADICALS' APPEAL
AND IS BEING USED AS THE LAST RESORT IN THE FACE OF IN-
CREASING STRENGTH OF MODERATE YOUTH GROUPS. THE USSR-
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COMMUNIST ORIENTED SPARTAKUS AND FEDERATION OF SOCIAL-
IST STUDENTS (SHB) AND THE MAOIST "CHAOTICS" STILL
DOMINATE STUDENT POLITICS AT MOST UNIVERSITIES AND CON-
TROL, RESPECTIVELY, THE NATIONWIDE FEDERATION OF GERMAN
STUDENTS (VDS) AND THE FEDERATION OF COMMUNIST STUDENTS
(KSV). BUT THE MODERATES, ESPECIALLY THE RING OF
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC STUDENTS (RCDS), HAVE MADE GAINS
IN RECENT STUDENT COUNCIL ELECTIONS AT BOCHUM, COLOGNE,

AACHEN, BONN, MUENSTER, KARLSRUHE, KOBLENZ, SAARBRUECKEN AND REGENSBURG. ELECTIONS AT OTHER UNIVERSITIES ARE NOW GOING ON. PROFESSORS REPORT THAT "THE STUDENTS ARE STUDYING AGAIN" AND THAT ONE CAN NOW ENGAGE IN SERIOUS ACADEMIC DISCUSSION EVEN WITH THE AVOWED MARXIST STUDENTS, WHO ARE IN FACT CONSIDERED THE BEST GROOMED, MOST DILIGENT, AND MOST INTELLIGENT.

3. THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS (JUSOS), THE SPD'S YOUTH WING, IS THE LARGEST AND MOST INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL YOUTH GROUP IN THE FRG--AND PROBABLY IN THE WEST. ITS OVER 300,000 MEMBERS CONSTITUTE ROUGHLY 30 PERCENT OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. FROM ITS RANKS WILL COME THE NEXT GENERATION OF SPD, AND POSSIBLY FRG GOVERNMENT, LEADERSHIP. A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF THE JUSO MEMBERSHIP IS PROBABLY NEITHER RADICAL NOR EVEN POLITICALLY ENGAGED--ANY SPD MEMBER UNDER AGE 35 IS AUTOMATICALLY A "JUSO". BUT THE JUSO LEADERSHIP IS ON THE FAR LEFT OF THE SPD, AND HAS MADE SOME PROGRESS IN DIRECTING THE LEADERSHIP AND PROGRAM OF THE MOTHER PARTY TOWARD THE LEFT.

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AMCONSUL STUTTGART

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4. THE PRESENT LEADING JUSO TRIUMVERATE (WOLFGANG ROTH, JOHANNES STRASSER, AND KARSTEN VOIGT) HAS BEGUN TO REALIZE AND TO PREACH ABOUT THE NECESSITY FOR PRAGMATISM AND THE DANGER OF THEORETICAL DOGMATISM UNRELATED TO POLITICAL REALITIES. THEY REALIZE THAT THE FAR LEFT DEMANDS OF THE JUSOS HAVE HURT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY--NOT ONLY THE MIDDLE CLASS SPD SUPPORTERS BUT ALSO THE WORKERS ARE REPELLED BY THE JUSOS. THE "JUSO ESTABLISHMENT" IS ALSO REACTING TO THE PROBLEMS IT FACES TO ITS OWN LEFT, FROM THE "STAMOKAP" FACTION (I.E., "THE STATE IS THE CAPTIVE OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS") AND THE "NON-REVISIONISTS" (WHO EMPHASIZE THE STRATEGY OF MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES). INDICATIONS THAT THE JUSOS ARE BECOMING POLITICALLY MORE REALISTIC DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEY WILL CHANGE THEIR BASIC GOALS, AND IF ANYTHING MEANS THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO MAKE SOME GAINS.

5. THE JUSOS AS YET FACE NO REAL COMPETITION FROM THE

POLITICAL YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS OF EITHER THE FDP'S YOUNG DEMOCRATS (JUDOS) OR THE CDU'S JUNGE UNION (JU). BOTH THE JU AND THE JUDOS ARE TO THE LEFT OF THEIR MOTHER PARTIES, BUT NEITHER INFLUENCES THE PARTY TO THE EXTENT THAT THE JUSOS AFFECT THE SPD. PRACTICALLY SPEAKING, THE JUDOS' POLITICAL PROGRAM IS CLOSE TO THAT OF THE JUSOS, ALTHOUGH THE JUDOS ARE THEORETICALLY MORE INDIVIDUALISTIC AND 19TH/20TH CENTURY-LIBERAL ORIENTED. THEY DO HELP PUSH THE FDP TOWARD THE LEFT. STILL, MANY YOUNG FDP SUPPORTERS, INCLUDING SOME WHO WILL PROBABLY ASSUME LEADERSHIP ROLES IN THE PARTY, HAVE DISASSOCIATED THEMSELVES FROM THE LEFTIST JUDOS. THE JUNGE UNION HAS INCREASED ITS MEMBERSHIP, MAINLY IN THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL AGE GROUP, AND IS TRYING TO SELL ITSELF AS A "PROGRESSIVELY LEFTIST-REFORMIST" ELEMENT WITHIN THE CDU, WORKING TOGETHER WITH THE CDU'S LABOR WING. IT IS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BEGINNING TO ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE ISSUES WHICH, UNTIL RECENTLY, HAVE BEEN PRIMARILY THE PRESERVE OF THE JUSOS AND JUDOS--FOR EXAMPLE, THE "HUMAN PROBLEMS" OF THE INDUSTRIAL/POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

6. THE FACT THAT YOUTH POLITICS TODAY IS DOMINATED BY THE LEFT/FAR LEFT DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT THE CENTER OF POLITICAL GRAVITY IN THE FRG WILL BE LEFTIST IN COMING GENERATIONS. THERE MAY BE SOME TRUTH IN THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM THAT WITH AGE COMES CONSERVATISM AND THAT WITH POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY COMES MODERATION. EVEN IF THE PRESENT JUSOS DO NOT MELLOW WITH AGE, THE BULK OF THE ELECTORATE--BARRING SERIOUS STRAINS IN THE ECONOMIC/SOCIAL FABRIC--SEEMS LIKELY TO REMAIN MODERATE, AND POLITICAL SUCCESS WILL GO TO THOSE ABLE TO CAPTURE "THE MIDDLE MAJORITY."

7. YET MANY YOUNG GERMANS ARE BECOMING EXTREMELY INTOLERANT AND ARE OVERLY INCLINED TO THINK IN TERMS OF "COMPLETE CHANGE OF THE TOTAL SYSTEM". MOST ARE CONTINUING TO SEEK THEIR ANSWERS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY. BUT IF A PROLONGED ECONOMIC CRISIS COMES TO GERMANY, THE EXTREMISTS WILL HAVE A GREATER OPPORTUNITY FOR SUCCESS.
HILLENBRAND

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